LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 1123
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

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I.

THE FACTS ABOUT PURITAN MORALITY

Everybody seems to take it for granted that the behavior of the early settlers of New England was far above normal. Nobody seems to take the trouble to verify the assumption.

We are constantly bombarded from rostrum, pulpit, editorial column and magazine paper with allusions to the noble heights attained by the glorious fathers who left a wicked nation for freedom to worship God and to lead a clean simple life of devotion to the highest ideals.

The facts are amazingly opposite. The Puritans themselves would be dazed if they could know the legend that passes current for truth, and would be astounded to learn that they and their young people are held up as models for imitation by the wicked citizens of our degenerate day.

The Puritans admitted incessantly that they were exceedingly bad. The records sustain them. Their first governor, Bradford, of the Plymouth Colony, confesses in bewilderment that, vicious as England was when they left it, every form of wickedness flourished to greater excess in New England: and he could account for this only by the ingenious theory that the Devil was so afraid of the Separatist success that he and his minions put forth

desperate extra efforts to make the colony a failure.

Whether this is the true explanation or not, it is a dismal fact that the Puritans wallowed in every known form of wickedness to a disgusting degree. Considering the extremely meager population of the early colonies, they were appallingly busy in evil. I do not refer to the doctrinal crimes that they artificially construed and dreaded and persecuted with such severity that England had to intervene: the crimes of being a Quaker, a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Catholic, a Presbyterian, which they punished with lash, with the gallows and with exile. I do not refer to the frightful persecution and execution of people accused of witchcraft. I do not refer to their inclusion of lawyers among keepers of disorderly houses and people of ill fame. I refer to what every people, savage or civilized, has forbidden by law: murder, arson, adultery, infanticide, drunkenness, theft, rape, sodomy and bestiality.

The sexual excesses, atrocities and perversions that are usually considered the result of luxury were abnormally frequent in New England. Dr. James Truslove Adams in his recent work *Revolutionary New England*, says on page 38: "For many years, owing to the deliberate exclusion from printed records of entries bearing on the topic, it was peculiarly difficult to form an estimate of the standard of sexual purity developed by the Puritan code. A more honest attitude toward history and life has resulted in accumulation of evidence that enables us to judge more accurately of the

Puritan results and of our own time as compared with what has been considered as America's age of religion and virtue. Owing to certain peculiar requirements by some of the churches, we are in possession of sufficient records to test this point among church members, and the entries indicate strongly that the standard of sexual morality among the unmarried youth was lower in Puritan New England than it is today for both sexes. The ruling by one of the Connecticut churches later in the century that seven-month children should be considered legitimate and receive baptism confirms the records as to widespread laxity. Unpleasant as this aspect of the Puritan days may be, it is by no means surprising. The Puritan does not seem to realize that activities and capabilities demand an outlet, and that if the avenues for innocent and normal recreation are denied nature will take her own revenge. In Connecticut, where the people were almost all hard-working farmers for whom Sunday was the only day of rest, it was enacted that all young persons should be subject to a fine or two hours in the stocks should they meet together on Sabbath evenings either indoors or out, although church services had perforce occupied almost all of their earlier hours. In Massachusetts it was illegal, on the same day, not only to go swimming but, in spite of Christ's own example, even to go for a quiet walk on the village streets or in the fields. Legislation opposed to human nature or to the desires of a large part of the people breeds hypocrisy and a contempt for the law."

The shocking things I shall quote hereafter have a vital importance to our lives at this moment. We are never free of the ferocious demands of reformers and religious quacks who never relax their pressure upon the legislative bodies to enact, and upon our police, to enforce laws affecting personal conduct. Our books are loaded with ordinances thrust upon them by preachers, Sabbath day observance societies, anti-cigarette and anti-saloon and anti-everything organizations. There is never a respite from the clamor against our vices and in favor of a different life. Our young people are particularly drenched with vitriolic slander and held up to scorn and shame by preachers and judges who compare them unfavorably with the Puritans, really far worse.

The Puritans are forever alluded to as the proof of the value of restrictive laws. In the hierarchy of New England a Protestant priesthood made laws at will and compelled their observance with unbridled vigor (since only church members were allowed even to vote). Now, if the result of this experiment had been a high moral attainment, there would be an argument for a continuance of the clergy in power. But since the result was not merely a loss of all that personal liberty which makes life endurable, but also a degradation of morals and an orgy of crime, the reformers should be treated as solicitors to vice and their recommendations should be regarded with contempt.

It is important that the truth be known. Is religion, is church membership a help to virtue? The careless will answer without hesi-

tation, Yes! Of course. The statistics, when they are not smothered, cry, No!

Today, the statistics of penal institutions show that while church members nowhere constitute even half of the population outside the prisons, they constitute from eighty to ninety-five percent of the population inside the prison. This can be verified by reference to any census of any penal institution.

The logical answer would be: religious instruction is not a deterrent to vice but an encouragement to it. Churches should be avoided as hotbeds of wickedness.

This sounds like nonsense. It is the truth. It is no more nonsensical than it once seemed to assert that the earth was round. It will be a long while before it is universally recognized that religion is the curse of human society. It is five hundred years since the globe was circumnavigated, yet there is a large colony of Christians near Chicago officially maintaining that the earth is as flat and four-cornered as the Bible says.

It sounds ridiculous, perhaps, for me to say that churches are enemies of virtue as well as of truth and progress. The very sermons are largely false in statement, fallacious in logic and authority, and vicious in purpose.

If this is untrue, then church-going should result in high morals, high intelligence and eagerness for truth and justice. The reverse is the case, and always has been. Exceedingly religious people are people of passionate instincts and have always rushed headlong into excesses of cruelty, sensuality and rapacity as

well as the unreasoning ecstasies and auto-intoxications they flutteringly entitle "Christ-in us," the sense of election and the unequaled rapture of "oneness with the loving father" who has "redeemed" us with his "Son's blood."

Even old John Winthrop writes of Christ's love as if Winthrop were a bride and Christ a caressing groom. Some of the Puritans were more erotically religious than the nuns with their mystic marriages and their outcries which make a love-novel pallid by comparison.

If church-going keeps down sin then the Puritans should have been almost sinless because they compelled everybody to go to church and they were almost unremitting in prayer. They actually regarded absence from church as worse than adultery or theft. They dragged prisoners from jail under guard to church. They whipped old men and women bloodily for staying away. They fined the stay-at-homes and confiscated their goods and their cattle to bankruptcy. When all else failed they used exile. Disobedience of parents was voted a capital offense and so was Sabbath-breaking even to the extent of picking up sticks.

Yet as a result of all this religion, the sex-life of the Puritans was abnormal. They had none of the abominable temptations on which so much abuse is heaped and against which so much censorship is attempted: they had no theaters, no opera houses, no art galleries, no magazines, no newspapers, no novels, no poetry, no concerts, no music halls, no moving pictures, no dance parlors, no jazz bands, no automobiles, not even a bicycle.

Yet their sex sins were enormous. Their form of spooning was "bundling," an astonishing custom that permitted lovers to lie down in bed together in the dark under covers. They were supposed to keep all their clothes on, but there must have been some mistake somewhere for the number of illegitimate children and premature children was stupefying.

In the superb and harrowing three-volume work, *A Social History of the American Family*, by Arthur W. Calhoun, Ph.D., there is a chapter on "Sex Sin and Family Failure in Colonial New England" from which I quote omitting what he says of bundling:

"The decline of bundling is to be attributed largely to the increase of wealth which made possible larger houses and less rigorous conditions of life.

"Pre-contract probably tended to fornication. New England betrothal was a solemnity of moment—a half-way marriage. Incontinence of betrothed might be punished as adultery though if the offense was with each other the penalty was diminished.

"The matter of fornication before marriage was given shameful notoriety. Not even matrimony long previous to the discovery of the transgression was considered complete satisfaction. Fear of infant damnation was a stimulus compelling young married people to shameful public confession. Groton church records show that until 1803 whenever a child was born less than seven months after marriage a public confession had to be made before the

whole congregation. Thus, at Roxbury, 1678, Hanna Hopkins was censured in the church for fornication with her husband before marriage and for fleeing from justice into Rhode Island." The Braintree Records for March 2, 1683, show that

"These manifestations of carnality so alien to the traditional picture of Puritanism demand explanation. Doubtless the bleak barrenness and economic dearth that oppressed the first settlers helped to reduce life to elemental levels. As Lamb put it, 'Poor men's smoky cabins are not always porticoes of moral philosophy.' Moreover, where wealth was scant, questions of legitimacy and inheritance were less urgent. Besides, the settlers had brought from England a fund of coarse sensuality, veneered it might be with modish asceticism, yet certainly demanding to be heard. The form of sex indulgence that developed may have been due in part to the stern morality that did not allow a class of recognized prostitutes. Brownist influences are also suggested. In extenuation of the incontinence of eighteenth century New England it should be remembered that much of it was not promiscuous and it is hard to accept Adam's opinion that in the matter of sexual morality, vice in the nineteenth century as compared with the seventeenth or the eighteenth has lost some part of its evil in losing much of its grossness. For whatever surface improvement there has been is probably due largely to the development of organized prostitution and the practice of preven-

tion and criminal abortion at which present day society is adept.

"It cannot be doubted that the publicity accorded to cases of sex errancy was an unwholesome influence that tended to augment the evil by creating a kind of social hysteria. Such sensationalism was of the nature of suggestion. Living under terrible repression—environment and social—the New Englanders found morbid satisfaction in conscience-prying and soul-display. The detailed *descriptions of their offenses that adulterers gave in church outwent the wildest flights of modern sensationalism as an enrichment of the service and daubtless brought and held a large audience.* The various civil penalties imposed cannot have been much more wholesome. Dunton tells us that *there hardly passed a court day in Massachusetts without some convictions for fornication* and though the penalty was fine and whipping, the crime was very frequent. At Plymouth in several cases of premature birth the husband was publicly whipped while his wife sat in the stocks as witness. In their zeal for the sanctity of married life several codes prescribed capital punishment for adultery. Plymouth substituted whipping and the scarlet letter. In Rhode Island the penalty was whipping with payment of costs. It is obvious that the punishment of such offenses involved on unwholesome publicity. Moreover, with the prevalence of extreme penalties there went reluctance to urge conviction for adultery.

"Women were more sternly dealt with than men. In 1707 a woman was sentenced to be

set on the gallows, receive thirty stripes upon her naked back, and forever after to wear the capital A. The man was acquitted with no assignment of reason. We are reminded that the man of the Reformation knew no chivalry when we read of a woman condemned to stand in the market place in Boston and to wear a placard: 'Thus I stand for my adulterous and whorish carriage.'

"It seems from some cases that the offense of unchastity was, after all, a formal one that the civil power might overlook, provided no burden of supporting illegitimate children was imposed on the community. . . .

"Financial means evidently served to render unchastity less heinous. Stories of scandal in high society can be found in the histories of all old New England towns. Thus the widow B——, presented for a second offense in having a child born out of wedlock, the father of both being a married man, was sentenced to pay the usual fine of five pounds and also to wear on her cap a paper on which her offense was written, as a warning to others, or else pay fifteen pounds. The man in the case, a Harvard alumnus, a man of wealth, found another man of wealth to go on her bond and later married the widow. The descendants of the bastards are now a prominent family.

"Sir Christopher Gardiner seems to have been a source of much trouble through his relations with women. Then there was the notorious case of Sir Harry Frankland which showed that even social prestige cannot wipe out all standards. In 1741 he was made col-

lector of the port of Boston. [He had with him an illegitimate son.] After educating and patronizing a handsome scrub girl he took her as his concubine in spite of her religious instructor, the president of Harvard. The resultant outburst in Boston society drove them to move to another town. Later on he was caught in the Lisbon earthquake and vowed to marry her. After doing so he returned with her to Boston.

"A common offense was for an immigrant that had left a spouse in England to attempt a new alliance in the colonies. A letter dated Bristol, last of August, 1632, tells of a man with two wives who had gone off to New England with a harlot and lived there. Later, fearing trouble when news of his doings reached America, he tried to escape to the Dutch but was apprehended and brought back. Later a man married 'this Gardner's wench.' . . .

"The harshness of the lines in the colonial family was as much due to social pressure as to individual perversity. Thus domestic enjoyments were supposed to be omitted on the Sabbath. Some ministers refused to baptize children born on the Sabbath, because of a theory that such infants were conceived on the Sabbath. One of the ministers most strenuous in this line kept up his rigor till on a Sabbath his wife gave birth to twins. . . .

"Sexual irregularity occasioned by slavery was sufficiently noteworthy. A Massachusetts law of 1705 condemns Negroes and mulattoes guilty of improper intercourse with white to be sold out of the province. The presence of the

Indian race was also a temptation. Morton in his *New England Canaan* tells of an Indian infant with gray 'eies' whose

"'Father shewed him to us and said they were English mens eies, I told the father that his sonne was . . . bastard, hee replied . . . hee could not tell; his wife might play the whore and this child the father desired might have an English name, because of the likeness of his eies which his father had in admiration, because of novelty amongst their nation.'

"The servant problem had already begun to be a source of family troubles."

Nothing, I repeat, would have surprised the Puritans more than to learn that their descendants accepted them as saints. They were terrified and horrified by their own wickedness. They wept, wailed, and refused to be comforted.

The harsh, granite Puritan of our sermons, on statues and historical frescoes was unknown in real life. The real Puritan zealot spent an incredible amount of his time in weeping like a silly woman. Famous Puritan preachers boast of lying on a floor all night and drenching the carpet with their tears. Their church services, according to their own accounts must have been cyclones of hysteria, with the preacher sobbing and streaming and the congregation in a state of ululant frenzy, with men and women fainting on all sides.

The church services were occasionally enlivened also by the appearance of stark naked women in the aisles—Quakers denouncing

the preachers for their doctrines. Perhaps, if such sights might be hoped for nowadays, the empty pews could be filled without recourse to moving pictures.

When I began to make a study of Puritan conditions at the sources, I was amazed to find that their morals were worse than their doctrines. I was dumbfounded by the wealth of material in flat contradiction of the modern superstition. It occurred to me that some of it ought to be published. Much of it cannot be printed in even the freest-minded of modern periodicals. But I purpose to cite so much of it as ought to (but will not) silence once for all the eternal hugger-mugger about Puritan morality.

The authorities are the best possible: not the reports of travelers, or the satires of enemies, but the statements of the Puritans themselves: governor, eminent clergymen, and the official records of the colony.

Hereafter, anybody who refers to the Puritans as people of exemplary life or morality above the ordinary, is either ignorant or a liar.

Hawthorne's most famous novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, is concerned with a Puritan minister's passionate interest in one of his parishioners, whose husband was abroad; a child was born and the unlucky woman compelled to wear a capital "A" on her dress. Hawthorne took this case from the records of an old trial. But it was generally considered an outrageously unfair thing to do and not at all typical of the Puritan clergy. It was, however,

just what the Puritans themselves would have accepted as typical.

In our day there is an enormous amount of crime and vice among the clergy. Most horrible murders abound, by ministers, of and for ministers; published and unpublished adulteries, seductions, rapes, elopements, embezzlements, homosexual entanglements, bigamies, financial turpitudes are far more numerous than they should be in proportion to the clerical population.

We find the same thing true of Puritan New England. I know of no scoundrel in fact or fiction more contemptible, more loathsome than the first clergyman sent over to the colony.

His case, along with much other fascinating matter, is given at length in the eloquent history of Plymouth Colony by its first governor, William Bradford.

This famous book by the Governor of the colony was published verbatim, by order of the General Court of Masaschusetts and it should not therefore be considered an offense to quote from it freely, though some passages in it are simply unprintable in a work for general circulation.

He gives many pages to a discussion of the outbreak of that sin for which Sodom fell, and Oscar Wilde was set to picking oakum, but even though the General Court of Massachusetts permitted publication of the book, I dare not quote the many pages of the ministerial discussions of the sin; nor can I quote in full the account of the ghastly execution of a sixteen-year-old boy and his accomplices, a mare,

a cow, two goats, five sheep, two calves and a turkey.

Governor Bradford says "Horrible it is to mention, but ye truth of ye historie requires it." ". . . A very sad spectacle it was; for first the mare, and then ye cowe, and ye rest of ye lesser cattle, were kild before his face, according to ye law, Levit: 20. 15, and then he himselfe was executed. The catle were all cast into a great and large pitte that was digged of purpose for them, and no use made of any part of them."

It is in this same chapter of his book that Governor Bradford breaks out in his heart-broken bewilderment and unwittingly condemns the whole spirit and pretense of Puritanism. The Puritans fled from the wicked old world for purity's sake, they were relentless in persecuting levity of conduct; they were relentless in prayer; they were absolutely under the control of the church and clergy, and yet their Governor says that sin flourished more in Plymouth colony than in vile London! These are his very words.

"*Anno Dom.* 1642: Marvilous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow & breake forth here, in a land wher the same was so much witnesed against, and so narrowly looked unto, & severely punished when it was knowne; as in no place more, or so much, that I have known or heard of; insomuch as they have been somewhat censured, even by moderate and good men, for their severitie in punishments. And yet all this could not suppress ye breaking out of sundrie

notorious sins, (as this year, besids other, gives us too many sad presidents and instances,) espetially drunkennes and unclainnes; not only incontinencie between persons unmaried, for which many both men & women have been punished sharply enough, but some maried persons also. But that which is worse, even sodomie and bugerie, (things fearful to name,) have broak forth in this land, oftener then once. I say it may justly be marveled at, and cause us to fear & tremble at the consideration of our corrupte natures, which are so hardly bridled, subdued, & mortified; nay, cannot be any other means but ye powerfull worke & grace of Gods spirite. But (besids this) one reason may be, that ye Divell may carrie a greater spite against the churches of Christ and ye gospell hear, by how much ye more they indeavour to preserve holynes and puritie amongs them, and strictly punisheth the contrary when it ariseth either in church or commone wealth; that he might cast a blemishe & staine upon them in ye eyes of (ye) world, who use to be rash in judgmente. I would rather thinke thus, then that Satane hath more power in these heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over Gods servants in them.

"2. An other reason may be, that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streames are stopped or dammed up, when they gett passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, then when they are suffered to rune quietly in their owne channels. So wikedness being here more

stopped by strict laws, and ye same more nerly looked unto, so it cannot rune in a commone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it searches every wher, and at last breaks out wher it getts vente.

"3. A third reason may be, hear (as I am verily perswaded) is not more evills in this kind, nor nothing nere so many by proportion, as in other places; but they are here more discovered and seen, and made publick by due serch, inquisition, and due punishment; for ye churches looke narrowly to their members, and ye magistrates over all, more strictly then in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full & populous, and lye hid, as it were, in a wood or thickett, and many horrible evills by that means are never seen nor knowne; whereas hear, they are, as it were, brought into ye light, and set in ye plaine feeld, or rather on a hill, made conspicuous to ye view of all."

In the days of the Puritans, the wickedness of the people was indeed published and proclaimed. But why do the Puritans of our day overlook this ferocious testimony and hold up the old Puritans as saints?

They were heroes, they were martyrs, they did noble things, but they were not saints. They were human to the last degree. In no sense were they models to be held up for imitation. In the following chapters I will quote even more harrowing evidences that Puritanism was a ghastly failure as a cleansing influence on society.

II.

PURITAN MORALS ACCORDING TO REV. COTTON MATHER

No more fascinatingly horrible reading exists in all English literature, to my thinking, than the works of the Reverend Cotton Mather (1663-1728). He is the very flower and soul of Puritanism.

He paints so ghastly a portrait of his own priggish self; his ideals are so loathsome; he had such an infamous share in the persecution of witches; and his literary style is such an astonishing thing, that I turn to him again and again with a kind of morbid delight.

In that marvleous treatise *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* Brooks Adams paints a different portrait of Cotton Mather and his father Increase Mather, president of Harvard; Adams does not spare their selfish and cruel whims and their "dastardly revenge" on those who thwarted them.

This is not the place, however, for a study of Cotton Mather. I propose only to quote what he has to say of the morals of his parish in his *Magnalia Christi Americana or the Ecclesiastical History of New England.*

He deals frankly with the wickedness of the people and does not spare the clergy. In fact, I know of no class that speaks as ill of the clergy as the clergy do. They ought to know whereof they speak. And surely if a clergyman calls another an adulterous knave, one could not question the cloth.

In the quotations from Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation I have already given the history of the Rev. Mr. Lyford.

Cotton Mather also tells the story of the Rev. Mr. Lyford and his "fearful breaches of the Seventh Commandment, which he had with an oath denied, though they were afterwards evinced."

He speaks of Boston as the particular favorite of God, yet he complains in Book I, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (p. 92):

"But beware, I beseech you, of those *provoking evils* that may expose us to a plague, exceeding all that are in the catalogue of the *twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy*. Let me go on to say, What, shall there be any *bawdy-houses* in such a town as this! It may be the neighbors, that could smoke them, and rout them, if they would, are loth to stir, for fear of being reputed *ill neighbors*. But I say unto you, that you are *ill neighbors* because you do it not. All the neighbors are like to have their children and servants poisoned, and their dwellings laid in ashes, because you do it not. And Oh! that the *drinking-houses* in the town might once come under a laudable *regulation*

. . .

"In fine, how dreadfully have the *young people of Boston* perished under the *judgments* of God. A renowned writer, among the *Pagans*, could make this remark; there was a town so irreligious and atheistical, that they did not pay their *first-fruits* unto God: (which the *light of Nature* taught the Pagans to do!) and,

says he, they were by a sudden desolation so strangely destroyed, that there were no remainders either of the *persons*, or of the *houses*, to be seen any more. Ah, *my young folks*, there are *first-fruits* paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass, that the consuming wrath of God is every day upon you. *New-England* has been like a *tottering house*, the very foundations of it have been shaking; but the house thus oversetting by the *whirlwinds* of the wrath of God, hath been like *Job's* house; *It falls upon the young men, and they are dead!* The disasters on our *young* folks have been so multiplied, that there are few parents among us, but what will go with *wounded hearts* down unto their graves: their daily moans are, *Ah, my son cut off in his youth! My son, my son!*"

Of course some of the things Cotton Mather and his fellows bewailed as sins we should grieve over lightly today. The reverend Nathaniel Mather, who died in his nineteenth year, is quoted here as having written of his childhood:

"Of the manifold sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, I was whittling on the Sabbath-day; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great reproach of God! a specimen of that atheism that I brought into the world with me!"

Cotton Mather goes so far indeed as to say in his fifth book, Chapter XVI, that even the virtues of the unsanctified are vicious:

"VII. Works done by unregenerate men,

although, for the matter of them, they may be things, which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and to others: Yet because they proceed not from an heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God; they are therefore sinful and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive grace from God; and yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God."

They had a hard time explaining why a man who was not elected by God should be good, since he could not escape hell in any case, any more than an elect man could escape heaven by any vileness.

In spite of the ferocious punishments attending the staying away from church, Mather also complains that "there is much Sabbath-breaking; since there are multitudes that do profanely absent themselves or theirs from the public worship of God on his holy day."

He gives in an appendix the following dramatic character-studies in crime:

I. "About the year 1646, there was one Mary Martin, whose father going from hence to England, left her in the house of a marry'd man, who yet became so enamour'd on her; that he attempted her chastity.

"Such was her weakness and folly, that she yielded unto the temptations of that miserable man; but yet with such horrible regret of mind, that begging of God, for deliverance from her temptations, her plea was, That if ever she were overtaken again, she would leave

herself unto his justice, to be made a public example.

"Heaven will convince the sinful children of men, that the vows which they make, relying on the stability and resolution of their own hearts, are of no significancy. A chain of hell was upon her, and the forfeited grace of heaven was withheld from her; she fell a third time, into the sin, against which her vows had been utter'd.

"Afterwards going to service in Boston, she found herself to have conceiv'd; but she lived with a favorable mistress, who would admit and allow no suspicion of her dishonesty.

"She conceal'd her crime, till the time of her delivery; and then being deliver'd alone by her self in a dark room, she murdered the harmless and helpless infant; hiding it in a chest from the eyes of all, but the jealous GOD.

"The blood of the child cried, when the cry of the child it self was thus cruelly stifled. Some circumstance quickly occur'd which oblig'd her friend to charge her with an unlawful birth. She deny'd it impudently. A further search confuted her denial. She then said, the child was dead born, and she had burn'd it to ashes. With an hypocritical tear, she added, 'Oh, that it were true, that the poor babe were any where to be seen!' At last, it was found in her chest; and when she touch'd the face of it before the jury, the blood came fresh into it. So she confessed the whole truth concerning it.

"Great endeavors were used that she might

be brought unto a true faith in the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ for the pardon of her blood-guiltiness; and it may be, none endeavor'd more than that Reverend man, old Mr. Wilson, who wrote several sheets of pathetical instructions to her while she was in prison. That renown'd man, old Mr. Cotton also, did his part in endeavoring that she might be renew'd by repentance; and preach'd a sermon, on Ezek. 16. 20,21. 'Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children!' Whereof great notice was taken. It was hoped, that these endeavors were not lost: her carriage in her imprisonment, and at her execution, was very penitent. But there was this remarkable at her execution: she acknowledged her twice essaying to kill her child before she could make an end of it: and now, through the unskilfulness of the executioner, she was turned off the ladder twice before she died."

II.

"There was a miserable man at Weymouth; who fell into very ungodly practice; but would particularly signalize his ungodliness, by flouting at those fools, (as he call'd 'em) who would ever confess any sins, laid unto their charge.

"This man liv'd in abominable adulteries; but God at length smote him with a palsie. His dead palsie was accompany'd with a quick conscience, which compell'd him to confess his crimes: but, he confess'd them so indiscreetly, that by their divulgation, they reach'd the ears of the authority: and in this confession, there

was involv'd and concern'd, the wretched woman, who chiefly had been concern'd with him in the transgression.

"By the law of this country, adultery was then a capital transgression, as it hath been in many other countries: and this poor adulterer could not escape the punishment which the law provided."

III.

"On June 6, 1662, at New-haven there was a most unparallel'd wretch, one Potter, by name, about sixty years of age, executed for damnable bestialities; although this wretch had been for now twenty years a member of the church in that place, and kept up among the holy people of God there, a reputation for serious christianity. It seems that the unclean devil, which had the possession of this monster, had carry'd all his lusts with so much fury into this one channel of wickedness, that there was no notice taken of his being wicked in any other.

"Hence 'twas, that he was devout in worship, gifted in prayer, forward in edifying discourse among the religious, and zealous in reproving the sins of the other people; every one counted him a saint: and he enjoy'd such a peace in his own mind, that in several fits of sickness, wherein he seem'd nigh unto death, he seem'd willing to die; yea, death (he said) smiled on him. Nevertheless, his diabolical creature, had liv'd in most infamous. . . ."

Here I really must break off. He tells this wretch's atrocities with appalling detail, and follows them with the story of another, of whom he says:

"So that this bewitched beast, that had not been afraid of dying till he came to the place of execution, when he came there, he was awaken'd into a most unutterable and intolerable anguish of soul, and made most lamentably desperate out-cries; among which out-cries, he warn'd men particularly to take heed of neglecteng secret prayer; which, he said had been his bane. He said, he never us'd secret prayer in his life, and that he frequently omitted family prayer too; yea, he said, he had pray'd and sinn'd, and sinn'd and pray'd; namely, by ejaculations, with which he contented himself, throwing set prayer aside. But so he perish'd!"

VI.

"On Sept. 22, 1681, one W. C. was executed at Boston for a rape committed by him, on a girl that liv'd with him; though he had then a wife with child by him, of a nineteenth or twentieth child.

"This man had been wicked overmuch. His parents were godly persons; but he was a child of Belial. He began early to shake off his obedience unto them; and early had fornication laid unto his charge; after which he fled unto a dissolute corner of the land, a place whereof it might be said 'surely the fear of God is not in this place:' He being a youth under the inspection of the church at Roxbury, they, to win him, invited him to return unto his friends, with such expressions of lenity towards him, that, the reverend old man their pastor, in a sermon on the day when this man was executed, with tears bewail'd it.

"After this, he liv'd very dissolutely in the town of Dorchester: where, in a fit of sickness, he vow'd, that if God would spare his life, he would live as a new man: but he horribly forgot his vows. The instances of his impiety grew so numerous and prodigious, that the wrath of God could bear no longer with him; he was ripen'd for the gallows.

"After his condemnation, he vehemently protested his innocency of the fact, for which he was condemn'd: but he confess'd, that God was righteous, thus to bring destruction upon him, for secret adulteries.

"A reprieve would have been obtain'd for him, if his foolish and forward refusing to hear a sermon on the day appointed for his execution had not hardened the heart of the judge against him. He, who had been a great scoffer at the ordinances of God, now expos'd himself, by being left unto such a sottish action!

"He had horribly slighted all calls to repentance, and now, through some wretches over-perswading of him that he should not die according to sentence and order of the court, he hardened himself, still in his unrepentant frame of mind.

"When he came to the gallows and saw death (and a picture of hell too in a negro then burnt to death at the stake, for burning her master's house, with some that were in it,) before his face, never was a cry for time! time! a world for a little time! the inexpressible worth of time; utter'd with a most unutterable anguish.

"He then declar'd, that the greatest burden then lying upon his miserable soul; was his

having lived so unprofitably under the preaching of the gospel.

VII.

"On March 11, 1686, was executed at Boston, one James Morgan, for an horrible murther. A man, finding it necessary to come into his house, he swore he would run a spit into his bowels; and he was as bad as his word."

VIII.

"One Hugh Stone, upon a quarrel, between himself and his wife, about selling a piece of land, having some words, as they were walking together on a certain evening, very barbarously reach'd a stroke at her throat, with a sharp knife; and by that one stroke fetch'd away the soul of her, who had made him a father of several children, and would have brought yet another to him if she had liv'd a few weeks longer in the world.

"The wretched man was too soon surpriz'd by his neighbours, to be capable of denying the fact: and so he pleaded guilty, upon his tryal. . . ."

IX.

"On June 8, 1698, two young men (the one English, the other Negro) were executed in Boston for murdering their bastard-children. . . ."

X.

"In the year 1694, a miserable Indian, called Zachary, was executed for murder. . . . He said, that the thing which undid him was this:

He had begun to come and hear the preaching of the gospel among the Indians: but he minded the Indian preacher, how he liv'd; and he saw plainly that the preacher minded his bottle, more than his bible: He lov'd rhum too well; and when his rhum was in him, he would quarrel with other people, and with himself particularly. This (he said) prejudic'd him against the gospel. So he liv'd as a Pagan still, and would be drunk too; and his drunkenness had brought all this misery upon him."

XI.

"In the year 1698, was executed at Springfield, one Sarah Smith.

"Her despising the continual counsels and warnings of her godly father-in-law laid the foundation of her destruction. When she was married, she added unto the crime of adultery, that of stealing; which latter crime occasioned her to fly to New-Jersey. Afterwards coming to reside in Deerfield, her (second) husband, was carryd captive unto Canada: But the woman, in grievous horror of mind for the breaches of the seventh and eighth commandment, received many most suitable counsels from Mr. Williams, the worthy minister of that place. In conformity to his counsels and warning, for a while, she led a reformed life, and seem'd much affected with the word of God, in the publick dispensations of it. But 'ere it was long, she lost her seriousness, her tenderness, her convictions: and relapsed into that sin of adultery. Her first relapse into that sin, was attended with a conception, which, tho'

she endeavoured to render it an abortive, the holy providence of GOD would not suffer it to be so.

"She did with much obstinancy deny and conceal her being with child. And when the child was born, she smother'd it. But the neighbours found it out immediately. She then owned the matter, but made the usual pretence, That the child was dead born: and remain'd as poor sinners undone by the sins of unchastity use to be, under extream hardness of heart. Mr. Williams rarely visited her, but found her guilty of new lies; tho' sometimes violent pangs of horror would come upon her, wherein she detected her own lying, and seem'd greatly to bewail it. The honourable Judge desired Mr. Williams to go down unto Springfield (which was the place,) at the time of her execution; who then found her under an astonishing stupidity of soul; and yet not pretending to hopes of happiness in another world. He found her guilty of more lyes! which afterward she confessed so to be: She slept both at the prayer and the sermon, in the publick assembly on the day of her execution: And seem'd the most unconcern'd of any in the assembly; professing therewithal, that she could not but wonder at her own unconcernedness. At her execution she said but little, only, that she desir'd to give glory unto GOD, and to take shame unto her self, and that she would warn all others to beware of the sins that had brought her unto this miserable end; especially stealing, uncleanness, lying, neglecting to read the scriptures, and neglecting to

pray unto God. She had absented her self much from the word of God on Lord's-Days and lecture days; and staid at home, till she had fallen into this capital transgression: Then she would come unto the meetings, with some seeming devotion. She had sinned away great convictions and awakenings; and satan with seven more unclean spirits, entered into her; and GOD seemed then to with-hold from her, the efficacy of the means of grace and good, which his faithful servants in the neighbourhood, used with her."

XII.

"On November 17, 1698, there was executed in Boston, a miserable young woman, whose extraordinary circumstances rung throughout all New-England. On this day of her execution, was preached a sermon: And because the last passages of that sermon gave a summary narrative, of what it is fit the publick should know concerning that criminal, I have transferr'd 'em into this place. The sermon concluded in these words:

" 'Be astonish'd O congregation of GOD; Stand astonished at the horrible spectacle that is now before you. This house, and perhaps this land, never had in it a more astonishing spectacle.

" 'Behold a young woman, but an old sinner, going this day to die before her time, for being wicked over-much! Behold one just nineteen years old, and yet found ripe for the vengeance of a capital execution. Ah, miserable soul, with what a swift progress of sin and folly, has

thou made haste unto the congregation of the dead! Behold a person, whose unchaste conversation appear'd by one base born child many months ago! God then gave her a space to repent, and she repented not: She repeated her whoredoms, and by an infatuation from God upon her, she so managed the matter of her next base born, that she is found guilty of its murder. Thus the GOD, whose eyes are like a flame of fire, is now casting her into a bed of burning tribulation: And, ah, Lord, where wilt thou cast those that have committed adultery with her, except they repent! Since her imprisonment, she had declared, that she believes, God hath left her unto this undoing wickedness, partly for her staying so prophanely at home, sometimes on Lord's day, when she should have been hearing the word of Christ, and much more for her not minding that word, when she heard it.

" 'And she has confessed, that she was much given to rash wishes, in her mad passions, particularly using often that ill form of speaking, "I'll be hanged," if I do not this or that; Which evil now, to see it, coming upon her, it amazes her! But this chief sin of which this chief of sinners now cries out, is, her undutiful carriage towards her parents. Her language and her carriage towards her parents, was indeed such that they hardly durst speak to her; but when they durst, they often told her, "it would come to this." They indeed, with bleeding hearts, have now forgiven thy rebellions. Ah, Sarah, mayest thou cry unto the God of heaven to forgive thee! But under

all the doleful circumstances of her imprisonment, and her impiety, she has been given over, to be a prodigy of still more impenitent impiety.

"'A little before her condemnation, she renewed the crimes of her unchastity; she gave herself up to the filthy debauches of a villain, that was her fellow-prisoner: and after her condemnation, her falsehoods and her furies have been such, as to proclaim, that under condemnation she has not feared God. Was there ever seen such an heighth of wickedness! God seems to have hang'd her up in chains, for all the young people in the countrey to see what prodigies of sin and wrath it may render them, if once they fell themselves thereunto. . . .'"

With sublime inconsistency Cotton Mather follows these instances of crime due to staying away from church with instances of crime by regular attendants:

"Sometimes in this country there have been prodigious and astonishing scandals given by the extraordinary miscarriages of some that have made a more than ordinary profession of religion; and incredible temptation has hereby been laid before the minds of multitudes. The wise man says, 'a righteous man falling before the wicked, is as a troubled fountain, and a corrupt spring.' There have been among us those persons who have made such a profession of righteousness, that much notice has been taken of them, and others have been ready to think, 'surely Christianity is just such a thing as the lives of these men do represent

it.' Now the falls of these men before the wicked among us, have been as a troubled fountain and a corrupt; just as if one had thrown poison into a well that all the town was to fetch water at. . . ."

III.

PURITAN MORALS AS SEEN BY JUDGE SEWALL

A contemporary of Cotton Mather's was Judge Sewall, who was born in England in 1652, came young to America, graduated at Harvard in 1671 and died in 1730, two years later than Cotton Mather, whose name appears often in the Journals kept by the Judge. The Diary, published among the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, begins December 2, 1673. The seventh entry, April 2, 1674, is as follows, as expurgated by the editor:

"April 2. Benjamin Gourd of Roxbury (being about 17 years of age) was executed for committing Bestiality . . . N. B. He committed filthines at noon day in an open yard. He after confessed that he had lived in that sin a year. The causes he alleged were, idlenes, not obeying parents &c."

On June 15 he describes the whipping and expulsion of a student for "speaking blasphemous words concerning the H. G." (Holy Ghost).

His diary is full of fascinating details about life, Indians, religious doubts as to the joining of the church, and even the fundamentals of belief Then in March, 1679, he writes:

"And I could hardly sit down to the Lord's Table. But I feared that if I went away I might be less fit next time, and thought that it would be strange for me who was just then joined to

the Church, to withdraw, wherefore I stayed. But I never experienced more unbelief. I feared at least that I did not believe that there was such an one as Jesus Xt., and yet was afraid that because I came to the ordinance without belief, that for the abuse of Xt. I should be stricken dead; yet I had some earnest desires that Xt. would, before the ordinance were done, though it were when he was just going away, give me some glimpse of himself; but I perceived none. Yet I seemed then to desire the coming of the next Sacrament day, that I might do better, and was stirred up hereby dreadfully to seek God who many times before had touched my heart by Mr. Thacher's praying and preaching more than now. The Lord pardon my former grieving of his Spirit, and circumsize my heart to love him with all my heart and soul."

"Friday, July 10th (1685). Mr. Stoughton also told me of George Car's Wife being with child by another Man, tells the Father, Major Pike sends her down to Prison. Is the Governour's Grandchild by his daughter Cotton. . ."

"Monday, November 9 (1685). Mr. Cobbet buried about 4. in the Afternoon. Flight of snow. This day about 6 or 7 at night a Male Infant pin'd up in a sorry Cloth is laid upon the Bulk of Shaw, the Tabacco-Man: Great Search made tonight and next day to find the Mother. So far as I can hear this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston. . . .

"Thorsday, November 12 (1685). After, the Ministers of this Town Come to the Court and

complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here and hath mixt Dances, and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day; and 'tis reported he should say that by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances. . . ."

The dancing master was fined 100 pounds later. Murders were frequent. Indians killed and were killed and drunkenness was too rampant to be quoted. The ravages of disease and the incessant deaths of children make the chronicle harrowing.

"Monday, Dec. 14 (1685). This Monday a jury is summoned who sit on the Body of Joseph Johnson, and the verdict they find, a wound an inch or 2 above his Navel which they judge to be the cause of his Death, and that they were informed James Morgan did it with a Spit. So were Sworn in Court December 14, 1685, and James Morgan ordered to have Irons put on him. He committed the Fact last Thorsday night.

"Sabbath-day, Feb. 28 (1686). A Jury is summoned to sit upon the Body of Sarah, the Daughter of Henry and Mary Flood, about 13 weeks old, for that said Mary was suspected of Murder. So now 3 in prison for suspected Murder.

"Satterday, March 6 (1686). James Morgan sends a Petition by one Vaughan, signed with said Morgan's own hand, wherein he acknowledges his own sinfull Life, the justness of the

Court's Sentence; and desires longer time to live, but 'tis not granted."

Another minister is found guilty of immorality.

"Natalis. March 28 (1686). Letter read from Maldon directed to the three Churches in Boston, desiring Council respecting their Pastor, Mr. Tho. Chiever, who is charg'd with scandalous immoralities, for which hath not given satisfaction.

"We find that Mr. Tho. Chiever, the present Pastor of the Church in Maldon, has been accused as Guilty of great Scandals, by more than 2 or 3 witnesses; and that since his being in Office-Relation Particularly, he is by two or three Witnesses charged with speaking such words as are scandalous breaches of the Third Commandment, as appears by the Testimony of Mrs. Eliza Wade and Abigail Russell. He is moreover accused with Shamefull and abominable Violations of the Seventh Commandment. There are several who have testifyed that they heard him use light and obscene expressions (not fit to be named) in an Ordinary at Salem. . . ."

(The home of a minister was a dangerous place for maids. Even the Rev. Cotton Mather's roof was no shelter.)

"Tuesday Morn. Mr. Mather's Maid, a Member of (blank) Church is brought to Bed of a Child. Nothing suspected before that I hear of. 'This said He has turn'd her out of's House.

"Friday, September 3 (1686). Mr. Shrimpton, Capt. Lidget and others come in a Coach from Roxbury about 9. aclock or past, singing

as they come, being inflamed with Drink: At Justice Morgan's they stop and drink Healths, curse, swear, talk profanely and baudily to the great disturbance of the Town and the grief of good people. Such high-handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston.

"Monday, Nov. 29 (1686). This day Wm. Clendon the Barber and Perriwig-maker dies miserably, being almost eat up with Lice and stupified with Drink and cold. Sat in the watch-house and was there gaz'd on a good part of the day, having been taken up the night before."

IV.

OFFICIAL RECORDS OF PURITAN IMMORALITY

If our people are wicked nowadays because they lacked religion, what shall we say of the Puritans who were far more wicked though they lived, moved, and had their being in an atmosphere so surcharged with religion that children and grown persons lay awake all night, sobbing and rolling on the floor in search of secret sins that they could not remember well enough to repent?

The preachers were in such power that they dictated the length of women's skirts, the dressing of their hair and the amount of throat that could be legally exposed.

Yet sexual evils fairly raged.

It must be remembered in reading the following startling excerpts from the official records, that you are not conning the police reports of New York City or Babylon or any other great and therefore wicked city. You are reading the scandal-sheet of a village, at first only a hamlet, growing very slowly for ten years, then losing in population for twenty years.

In Robert Baird's *Religion in America*, he says:

"It is calculated that twenty-one thousand emigrants had arrived in New England alone before the Long Parliament met. . . . . A great change took place during the next twenty years, embracing the period of the Civil War, and the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and his

son. . . . Upon the whole from 1640 to 1660, the population of New England rather diminished than augmented."

The records from which I am about to quote cover the years from 1630 to 1641.

The population of the Massachusetts Bay Colony began with the first shipload of about two hundred under Endicott. These reached the Bay in 1628, and a royal patent was granted in 1629. Two hundred more came over that year under Rev. Frances Higginson, who died that winter, along with eighty of his flock. The next year a body of eight or nine hundred embarked with Governor Winthrop, reaching the Bay in the summer.

They scattered about and two hundred of them died before December, including Lady Arabella Johnson. A hundred perished of disease and privation. Never was there better proof of favor with the Lord, for He must have loved them well since he chastened them so sorely and tested their mettle with such ruthless temptation.

The little town of Boston was hardly what we should call a village today. Its population during the period referred to here was a matter of a few hundred growing slowly to a thousand or more in the first ten years. I am unable to find any very accurate figures, but it is safe to say that all of the crimes and indecencies listed hereafter belong to a community of from two hundred to two thousand people.

And now to the records of this petty town which deserves so much fame that it does not need to make saints of the industrious sinners

who founded it. They took their sins, like their pleasures, morosely; but they did not abstain.

In 1853, by an order of the legislature, publication was made of the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." They were in five manuscript folios and the editor, Dr. Shurtleff, reproduced all their quaint spellings and their complexities of abbreviations. I have kept the spellings as close to the original as possible without making new fonts of type, for letters were then written above one another, crossed and twisted, omitted and suggested by fantastic devices: "person" was spelled "pson"; "letters" "lres"; "government" was "gournt"; and "treasurer," "trer"; as well as "ye" for "the"; and "ym" for "them."

I have by no means transcribed all the offenses mentioned. Profanity was punished constantly and drunkenness was too commonplace on the records to be quoted. The whippings of servants who stole property or ran away are also too numerous to include.

With these omissions the chronicle is submitted with a last warning to remember that only the most flagrant cases ever reached court; and that in all communities, where one person is brought up for trial, a dozen usually escape attention altogether.

The first actual record begins August 23, 1630. The second is September 7. The records are usually preceded by some such statement as "A court of Assistants holden at Charlton, 28th of September, 1630," with a list of those

present. On this day we read of a tavern keeper in trouble:

"It is ordered, that all Rich: Cloughes stronge water shall presently be seazed upon, for his selling great quantytie thereof to severall mens servts, which was the occacon of much disorder, drunckenes & misdemeanor."

* * *

September 28, 1630.

It is ordered, that John Goulworth shalbe whipped, and afterwards sett in the stocks, for fellony committed by him, whereof hee is convicted by his owne confession; also, that Henry Lynn shalbe whipped for the like offence, & John Bogust & John Pickryn to sitt in the stocks 4 howers togeather, att Salem, for being accessary therevnto.

September 28, 1630.

Wee finde that the strookes giuen by Walter Palmer were occationally the meanes of the death of Austen Bratcher, & soe to be manslaughter.

November 9, 1630.

Mr. Clearke is prohibited cohabitation & frequent keepeing company with Mrs. Freeman, vnder paine of such punishment as the Court shall think meete to inflict.

Mr. Clearke & Mr. Freeman hath bound themselues twenty pounds apeece that Mr. Clearke shall make his personall appearance att the nexte Courte, to be holden in March nexte, & in the meane tyme to carry himselfe in good behavior towards all people, & espetially towards Mrs. Freeman, concerneing whome there is stronge suspicion of incontinency.

It is ordered, that Rich: Diffy, servant to Sir

Richard Saltonstall, shalbe whipped for his misdemeanor towards his maister.

. . . The jury findes Walter Palmer not guilty of manslaughter, whereof hee stoode indicted, & soe the Court acquitts him.

November 30, 1630.

Bartholmewe Hill is adiudged to be whipt for stealeing a loafe of breade from John Hoskins, which himselfe confesseth.

. . . It is ordered, that John Baker shalbe whipped for shooting att fowle on the Sabbath day, etc.

It is further ordered, that Thomas Moulton shall pay vnto Mr. Ralfe Glouer ten shillings before the 8th day of December nexte, or els to be whipped for the wronge hee did Mr. Glouer in comeing from Plymoth, being master of his boate, & leaueing him without a plylott.

March 1, 1630-1.

Nich: Knopp is fyned £5 for takeing vpon him to cure the scurvey by a water of noe worth nor value, which he solde att a very deare rate, to be imprisoned till hee pay his fine, or giue securitye for it, or els to be whipped, & shalbe lyable to any mans action of whome hee hath receauved money for the said water.

. . . John Ellford hath bound himself in 100 marks, & Roger Connant & John Woodbury hath bound themselues in £40 a peece, for John Ellfords personall appearance att the first Court to be holden in November nexte, to answere for the death of Thomas Puckett.

March 8, 1630-1.

It was ordered, that Tho: Foxe, servant to Mr. Craadocke, shalbe whipped for vttering mal-

litious & scandilous speeches, whereby hee sought to traduce the Court, as if they hadd taken some bribe in the busines concerneing Walter Palmer.

March 22, 1630-1.

It is likewise ordered that all persons whatsoeuer that haue cards, dice, or tables in their howses, shall make away with them before the nexte Court, vnder paine of punishment.

. . . It is ordered, that Beniamyn Cribb, John Celbe, & Morris Trowent shalbe whipped for stealeing 3 piggs of Mr. Ralfe Glouers.

June 14, 1631.

It is ordered, that Phillip Ratliffe shalbe whipped, haue his eares cutt off, fyned £40, & banished out of ye lymitts of this jurisdiction, for vttering mallitious & scandalous speeches against the gouerment & the church of Salem, etc., as appeareth by a particular thereof, proued upon oath.

July 26, 1631.

It is ordered, that Frauncis Perry shalbe whipped, for his ill speeches & misbehavior towards his maister.

August 16, 1631.

It is ordered, that Mr. Shepheard and Roberte Coles shalbe ffyned 5 marks a peece, & Edward Gibbons 20 shillings, for abuseing themselues disorderly with drinkeing too much stronge drinke aboard the Frindshipp, & att Mr. Mauer-acke his hoowse at Winettsemett. Discharged, 409.

September 6, 1631.

It is ordered, that Henry Lynn shalbe whipped and banished the plantation before the 6th day of October nexte for writeing into England

falsely & mallitiously against the gouerment & execution of justice here.

It is ordered, John Dawe shalbe seuerly whipped for intiseing an Indian woman to lye with him. Vpon this occasion it is propounded wither adultery, either with English or Indian, shall not be punished with death. Referred to the nexte Court to be considered of.

Mr. Alex: Wignall is ffined 40 shillings, bound to his good behavior, & enjoyned to remove his dwelling to some settled plantation before the last of May nexte, for drunkenes & much misdemeanor by him committed at the plantation where nowe hee dwelleth.

October 18, 1631.

It is ordered, that if any man shall have carnall copulation with another mans wife, they both shalbe punished by death. This was confirmed the first month, 1637 or 1638.

. . . It is ordered, that Thomas Grayes howse att Marble Harbor shalbe puld downe, & that noe Englishe man shall hereafter giue howseroome to him or intertaine him, vnder such penalty as the Court shall thinke meete to inflicte.

March 6, 1632.

It is further ordered, that Robert Coles, of Rocksbury, shalbe fined 20 shillings for being drunke at Charlton in October last, & is inioyned to confesse his fault to the Court (nowe committed in extenuateing his offence,) the nexte Court, & after att the Generall Court.

August 7, 1632.

It is ordered, that the remainder of Mr. Allens stronge water, being estimated aboute 2 gal-

lands, shalbe deliuered into the hands of the deacons of Dorchester, for the benefitt of the poore there, for his selling of it dyvers tymes to such as were drunke with it, hee knowing thereof.

It is ordered, that James Woodward shalbe sett in the billbowes for being drunke att the newe towne.

September 4, 1632.

It is ordered, that Richard Hopkins shalbe seuerely whipt, & branded with a hott iron on one of his cheeks, for selling peeces & powder & shott to the Indeans. Hereupon it was propounded if this offence should not be punished hereafter by death. Referred to the nexte Court, to be determined.

October 3, 1632.

It is ordered, that Nicholas Frost, for thefte by him committed att Damerills Cove vpon the Indeans, for drunkenes and fornication of which hee is convicted, shalbe fined £5 to the Court, & £11 to Henry Way & John Holman, shalbe seuerely whipt, & branded, in the hand with a hott iron, & after banished out of this pattent, with penalty that if euer hee be found within the lymitts of the said pattent, hee shalbe putt to death; also it is agreed that hee shalbe kept in boults by Henry Way and John Holman, till his ffines be paid, dureing which time hee is to beare his owne charges.

. . . It is further ordered, that noe person shall take any tobacco publiquely vnder paine of punishment; also that euery one shall pay jd for euery time hee is convicted for takeing tobacco in any place, & that any Assistant shall

haue power to receave evidence & giue order for the levyeing of it, as also to giue order for the levyeing of the officers charge; this order to begin the 10th of November nexte.

November 7, 1632.

It is ordered, that Robert Huitt & Mary Ridge shalbe whipt for committing fornication together, of which they are convicted.

March 4, 1632.

It is ordered, that Thomas Dexter shalbe sett in the billowes, disfranchised & ffined £11 for speakeing reprochfull & seditious words against the gouerment here established, & findeing fault to dyvers with the acts of the Court, sayeing this captious gouerment will bring all to naught, adding that the best of them was but an atturney, etc.

April 3, 1632.

It is ordered, that Joyce Bradwicke shall giue vnto Alex: Becke the somme of twenty shillings, for promiseing him marriage without her friends consent, & nowe refuseing to performe the same.

John Sayles being convicted of fellonyously takeing away corne & fishe from dyvers persons the last year & this, as also clapboards, etc. is censured by the Court after this manner: That all his estate shalbe forfected, out of which double restitution shalbe made to those whome hee hath wronged, shal be whipt, & bound as a servant with any that will retaine him for 3 years, & after to be disposed of by the Court as they shall thinke meete.

September 3, 1633.

Roberte Coles is ffined £10, & enjoyned to

stand with a white sheete of paper on his back, wherein a drunkard shalbe written in great lettres, & to stand therewith soe long as the Court thinks meete, for abuseing himselfe shamefully with drinke, intiseing John Shotswell wife to incontinency, & other misdemeanor.

March 4, 1633-4.

It is ordered, that Roberte Coles, for drunkenes by him committed at Rocksbury, shalbe disfranchised, weare about his necke, & soe to hange vpon his outward garment, a D, made of redd cloath, & sett vpon white; to contyne this for a yeare, & not to leave it of att any tyme when hee comes amongst company, vnder the penalty of 21 shillings for the first offence, & £5 the second, & after to be punished by the Court as they thinke meete; also, hee is to weare the D outwards, & is enoyned to appeare att the next General Court, & to contynue there till the Court be ended.

August 5, 1634.

It was ordered. that Katherine Gray shalbe whipt for her filthy & vnchast behavior with Thomas Elkyn.

October 6, 1634.

It is ordered, that John Lee shalbe whipt & ffyned £11 for speakeing reprochfully of the Gouerner, sayeing hee was but a lawer's clerke, & what vnderstanding hadd hee more then himselfe; also taxeing the Court for makeing lawes to picke mens purses; as also for abuseing a mayde of the Gouerners, pretending love in the way of marriage, when himselfe professes hee

intended none; as also for intiseing her to go with him into the cornefield, etc.

March 4, 1634-5.

It is ordered, that Mr. Israell Staughton shalbe disinabled for beareing any public office in the commonwealth, within this jurisdiction, for the space of three yeares, for affirmeing the Assistants were noe magistrates.

September 1, 1635.

It is ordered, that Mary [blank] servant to Mr. Bartholmewe, shalbe whipt, for running from her maister, & shall serve him 6 weekes after her terme is ended.

November 3, 1635.

Ordered, that John Pease shalbe whipt, & bound to his good behavior for strikeing his mother, Mrs. Weston, & derydeing of her, & for dyvers other misdemeanors, & other evill carriages.

September 3, 1635.

Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, against the authoritie of magistrates, as also writt lettres of defamation, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviction, & yet mainetaineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall departe out of this jurisdiction within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensueing, which if hee neglected to performe, it shalbe lawfull for the Gouernor & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to returne any more without licence from the Court.

October 6, 1635.

Whereas Beniamyn Felton hath brought into this country one Roberte Scarlett, a knowen theife, whoe since his comeing hither hath commited dyvers fellonyes, etc., as appeareth by his examination,—

It is therefore ordered, that the said Scarlett shalbe seuerly whipt & branded in the forehead with a T, & after sent to his said master, whome the Court enioynes to send the said Scarlett out of this jurisdiction, & in the meane tyme to be lyeable to satisfie for such damages as his servant shall doe to any person, & also shall pay 10 shillings to Mr. Stileman, the constable, for his charges in keeping him & bringing of him to the Court.

. . . With the consent & att the desire of Henry Seawall, & Ellen his wife, the Court hath ordered that his saide wife shalbe att her owne disposseall, for the place of her habitation, & that her saide husband shall allowe her her weareing apparell, & £20 per annum, to be paide quarterly, as also a bedd with furniture to it.

. . . Edward Gyles was ffined 11 shillings for knoweing his wife carnally before marriage.

John Galey was ffined 20 shillings for the like offence.

September 6, 1636.

James Clarke & Joane Clarke was suspected of fornication, but no cleare prufe.

Robert Shorthose, for swearing by the bloud of God, was sentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft stick, & to stand so by the space of haulfe an houre.

September 6, 1636.

Edward Woodley, for attempting a rape, swearing, & breaking into a house, was censured to be severely whiped 30 stripes, a yeares imprisonment, & kept to hard labor, with course dyot, & to weare a coller of yron.

Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Aplegate, was censured to stand with her tongue in a cleft stick, for swearing, raileing, & revileing.

October 28, 1636.

Anthony Robinson, being convicted of fornication, comited by him 3 times, by his owne confession, was censured to bee whiped, & to have 20 stripes sharply layed on. He was also enioyned to appeare at the next Quarter Courte after the expiration of his time, & the meane while to bee of good behavior.

March 9, 1636-7.

Steven Greensmyth, for affirming that all the ministers (except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, & hee thought Mr. Hooker) did teach a covenant of works, was for a time committed to the marshall, & after enioyned to make acknowledgment to the satisfaction of every congregation, & was fined £40, & standeth bound in £100 till this bee done; both the satisfaction bee given to the ministers & the churches, & the Courte bee satisfied for the fine.

March 7, 1636-7.

Weybro Lovell, wife of Captain Lovell, being presented to the grand jury for light & whoarish behavior, was seriously admonished to repent, & walk humbly, chastly, & holily.

. . . Will: James being presented for incontinency, knowing his wife before marriage,

was sentenced to bee set in the bilboes at Boston, the 5th, in the afternone, & in the stocks at Salem vpon the next Courte day, & bound in £20.

. . . Capt. Lovell was admonished to take heede of light carriage.

March 7, 1636-7.

Mary Bowler was adiudged to make double restitution for the things stoalen by her from others.

June 6, 1637.

John Hathaway being accused of adultery with Margaret Seale, wife of Edward Seale, James Penn & Samuel Coles testified that hee confessed it to them; so the grandiury found the byll of inditement to bee true;

Robert Allen & Margaret Seale, being accused of adultery, confessed the fact; so the grandjury found the byll of inditement to bee true.

Mathewe Bridg being accused to be guilty of the vntimely death of John Abbot, the said Mathewe, & John Bridge, his father, were bound in £40 for his appearance at the next Quarter Courte, to bee held the first Tewsday in the 7th month, at Boston.

September 19, 1637.

John Williams, being indited about the death of John Hobbe, confessed that hee killed the said Hobbe; so the jury found him guilty of murther.

William Schooler being indited for the death of Mary Scholee, the jury found him guilty of murthering the said Schoolee.

Mary Osborne, the wife of ..... Osborne,

being indited about the death of her daughter, found the byll ignoramus.

John Hathaway, being indited for adultery, was found guilty.

Robert Allen confessed adultery, & was found guilty.

Margaret Seale, the wife ..... Seale, confessed adultery, & was found guilty.

November 2, 1637.

All former lawes against tobacco are repealed, & tobacco is set at liberty.

November 20, 1637.

Whereas it hathe appeared vnto this Court, many sad complaints, that much drunkenness, wast of the good creatures of God, mispence of precious time, & other disorders have frequently fallen out in the inns, & common victualing houses within this jurisdiction, whereby God is much dishonored, the profession of religion reproached, & the welfare of this commonwealth greatly impaired, & the true vse of such houses (being the necessary releefe of travellers) subverted; ffor redresse hearof it is now ordered, that after the last day of this present month, it shall not be lawful for any person that shall keepe any such inne, or common victualing house, to sell or have in their houses any wine, or strong water, nor any beare, or other drinke other then such as may & shall be souled for 1 penny the quart at the most. . . .

March 6, 1637-8.

Clement Briggs is bound in £10 for his wifes appearance at the next Quarter Court.

The presentment of Arthur Warren, for

keeping company with Clement Briggs, wife, was found to bee true.

Lawrence Waters is bound in £10 for his wife's appearance at the next Quarter Court.

Leiftenant Howe is bound in £20 to appear at the next Quarter Court.

March 12, 1637-8.

It is ordered, that the 3 adulterers, John Hathaway, Robert Allen, & Margaret Seale, shalbee severely whiped, & banished, never to return again, vpon paine of death.

March 12, 1637-8.

The law against adultery made by the particuler Court in October, 1631, is confirmed, that whosoever lyeth with another mans wife, both shalbee punished by death; & this is to bee promulgated.

It was ordered, that a committee should bee chosen to supply men that want land, & have deserved it.

June 5, 1638.

Samuell Jackson & Edith Pits did appear, & give in their evidence against John Emerson, of Scituate, about his abusing the said Edith.

Henry Seawall, being presented by the grandiury for beating his wife, is referd to the Court of Ipswich to examine, & hee to appear without any new summons.

Robert Bartlet, being presented for cursing & swearing, was censured to have his tonge put in a cleft sticke.

John Smyth, of Meadford, for swearing, being penitent, was set in the bilboes.

Katherine, vxor Rich: Cornish, was found

suspitious of incontinency, & was seriously admonished to take heede.

Clement Brigs his wife is enjoyned not to come into the company of Arthur Warren.

Willi: Busbey being presented for drunkennes, it was fund the falling sicknes.

Laurence Waters wife was enjoyned to give John Finch 18 pence, & Nico: Theale to give John Finch 18 pence, & Edward Lambe to give him 2 shillings, & Lambe was fined 15s. 6d. for his contempt, & all of them were admonished to avoyde dancing.

June 5, 1638.

Edmond Huberd, Senior, was fined 40 shillings for leaving a pit open, in which a child was drowned.

Francis Westons wife was censured to bee set 2 houres in the bilboes hear, & 2 houres at Salem, vpon a lecture day.

September 4, 1638.

Katherine, the wife of Samuell Finch, being accused for speaking against the magistrates, against the churches & against the elders, was censured to bee whiped, & comited till the Generall Court.

. . . John Crosse being warned to appear about his servant Clement Manning, who miscarried, the said Crosse was discharged.

. . . William South is censured to bee severely whiped, & kept to the Generall Courte. By whom hee was banished, to returne no more vpon paine of death.

December 4, 1638.

Dorothy, the wife of John Talbie, being by her own confession, guilty of the vnnaturall &

vntimely death of her daughter, Difficult Talbye, was by the jury found guilty, & so was condemned to be hanged.

. . . John Haslewood, being found guilty of severall thefts, & breaking into severall houses, was censured to bee severely whiped, & delivered vp a slave to whom the Court shall appoint.

Gyles Player, being fund guilty of severall thefts, & breaking into houses, was censured to bee severely whiped, & delivered vp for a slave to whom the Court shall appoint.

John Bickerstaffe was censured to bee severely whiped for committing fornication with Ales Burwoode.

Ales Burwoode was censured to bee whipped for yelding to Bickerstaffe without crying out, & concealing it 9 or 10 dayes.

December 4, 1638.

Richard Hollingsworth, for prophaning the Saboth in travelling, was censured to bee set in the stocks vpon a lecture day, at Salem.

March 5, 1638-9.

John Davies, for grosse offences in attempting lewdnes with divers weomen, was censured to bee severely whiped, both heare & at Ipswich, & to weare the letter V vpon his breast vpon his vppermost garment vntill the Court do discharge him.

. . . Thomas Boyse, haveing attempted a rape with Sara Jusall, was censured to give the mayde £5, & to be whiped & imprisoned a time.

. . . Richard Ibrooke, for tempting 2 or more maydes to vncleannes, was fined £5 to

the country, & 20 shillings a peece to the 2 maydes, Rebecca Phippen & Mary Marsh.

. . . John Hogges, for swearing Gods foote, & cursing his servant, wishing a poxe of God take you, was find £5.

March 13, 1638-9.

Mr. Ambros Marten, for calling the church covenant a stinking carryon & a humane invention, & saying hee wondered at Gods patience, feared it would end in the sharpe, & said the ministers did dethrone Christ, & set vp themselues; hee was fined £10, & counselled to go to Mr. Mather to be instructed by him.

Mr. Thomas Makepeace, because of his novile disposition, was informed wee were weary of him vnlesse hee reforme.

. . . The 4th of the 2nd month was thought meete for a day of humiliation, to seeke the face of God, & reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the churches.

. . . Novelties, oppression, athisme, excesse, superfluity, idlenes, contempt of authority, & troubles in other parts to bee remembered.

. . . Henry Faine was committed for his athisticall carryage on shipboarde.

June 6, 1639.

Henry Fane, appearing, haveing bene imprisoned 10 dayes for his reproachfull speaches of the ministers, was dismissed, with an admonition to take heede of the like practise, & his athisticall expressions.

June 4, 1639.

Richard Silvester, for speaking against the law about hogs, & against a perticuler magis-

trate, was fined ten pounds, whereof the three witnesses to have 6s. 8d. a peece.

. . . Samuell Norman was committed, for want of security, & was censured to bee whipped, for saying if ministers which come will but raile against England, some would receive them.

. . . Ellen Peirce was fined 40 shillings for cursing & wicked imprecations, & to pay the 2 witnesses 2 shillings a peece.

Elizabeth Chaulkley, of Charlestowne, was enioyned to give double restitution for the eggs & things which shee stoale.

September 3, 1639.

John Kempe, for filthy, vnclean attempts with 3 young girles, was censured to bee whiped both heare, at Roxberry & at Salem, very severely, & was committed for a slave to Leiftenant Davenport.

. . . Mathewe Edwards, for puting his hand vnder a girles coates, was censured to be whipped.

. . . John Joanes, for defileing his wife before marriage, was fined 20 shillings.

December 3, 1639.

James Luxford being presented for haveing two wifes, his last marriage was declared voyde, or a nullity thereof, & to be divorced, not to come to the sight of her whom hee last tooke, & hee bee sent away for England by the first opportunity; all that hee hath is appointed to her whom hee last married, for her & her children;. hee is also fined 100 pounds, & to bee set in the stocks an houre vpon a market day after the lecture, the next lecture day

if the weather permit, or else the next lecture day after.

. . . Elnor Peirce her husband was boudn in 10 pounds for her good behavior, & to bring her to stand in the market place the next market day with a paper for her light behavior.

. . . Quick was appointed to stand in the market place with a paper, for her light behavior the next 5th day.

James Hewlet, for his extortion, was fined 20 shillings, & was bound over in 10 pounds to the first month for his contemptuous speaches.

Jane Robinson, for disorder in her house, drunkennes, & light behavior was censured to bee severely whiped.

Margaret Hindersam was censured to stand in the market place with a paper the next market day, for her ill behavior, & her husband was boudn in 5 pounds for her good behavior, & to bring her to the market place at the time appointed for her to stand there.

Thomas Dickerson was censured to bee severely whiped, & condemned to slavery.

Robert Penyar, for his vnclean attempt, & his flying when hee should have appeared, was censured to bee whiped.

January 30, 1639-40.

John Vaughn, haveing defiled ——— ———, & refused to marry her, was committed to prison till hee should give sufficient security to provide both for the mother & the child, or marry her whom hee hath defiled.

April 30, 1640.

John Pope, for his unchast attempt upon a girle, & dalliance with maydes; & rebellios or

stubborne carriage against his master, was censured to bee severely whiped.

John Danvard, being accused of uncleannes, was bound in 20 pounds to appear at the Court the 4th month, vnles hee avoyde out of Waymoth before that, & pay the cunstable 20 shillings for witnesses.

George Palmer having committed folly with Margery Rugs, through her allurement, because hee confessed volentarily, hee was onlly set in the stocks, & so dismissed.

Margery Rugs, for intiseing & allureing George Palmer, was censured to bee severly whiped.

May 13, 1640.

James Luxford, for his forgery, lying, &.other foule offences, was censured to bee bound to the whiping poast till the lecture from the firs bell, & after the lecture to have his eares cut of; & so hee had liberty to depart out of our iurisdiction.

June 2, 1640.

Elisa: Bennet was censured to bee whiped for her unchast miscarriage.

* * *

And so the record runs. Space does not permit me to publish more of this evidence.

It is well to remember that there has perhaps never been in history a community in which Christianity had so perfect a laboratory in which to experiment.

The very purpose of the colony was announced as the propagation of the gospel. The Bible was the law book. The colony lacked all the things on which preachers lay the blame for ungodliness; yet every infamy known to his-

tory, from fiendish torture to luxurious degeneracy, flourished amazingly.

This ancient and impregnable fact has been ignored. The records have been studiously veiled in a cloud of misty reverence, and concealed under every form of rhetoric known to apologists.

An exquisite example of the classic method of proving black white without openly calling it so, is seen in Baird's history. Thus he says: "With respect to their treatment of the native tribes, they were led into measures which appear harsh and unjust, by the fact that their laws were modeled upon those of the Jews. Such, for example, was their making slaves of those Indians whom they made prisoners in war. There were cases, also, of individual wrong done to the Indians."

The dishonesty of this passage is infamous once it is analyzed. It should read something like this: Their laws were modeled upon and in many cases taken directly from the sacred laws handed down by Jehovah to the Jews. Therefore they were abominably cruel and unjust. They cheated the Indians out of their lands, and persecuted them to such perfection that shortly after John Eliot finished translating the Bible into the Natick language there were "none of the tribe left to read it." In war they butchered the Indians, threw women and children into the fire to fry, paid bounties for the scalps or skulls of Indian men, women and children, violated treaties, and either slaughtered their Indian captives or sold them into slavery, often to distant lands.

But this was to be expected since the Puritans were equally merciless to their own numbers. They whipped old women to death in the snow for doctrinal offenses. They tyrannized over their fellow citizens who were not church-members, as if they were slaves, allowing no one to vote who was not a church-member, and making church-membership a matter of peculiar difficulty.

They did their best to destroy happiness even in the children whom they taught to shudder and grovel in abject servility to a monstrous deity who ordained before the creation of the world that all but a few elect should roast in agonies of terror. Church services were orgies of morbid denunciation and panic.

The lash was inflicted for nearly every offense; girls and boys and grown-ups were publicly pilloried for not going to church or for going walking on a Sabbath; the death penalty was established for the atrocity of disobeying one's parents. Public whipping posts were available to parents who wanted to discipline their children.

And yet crime of every sort prospered.

Or should we change that "yet" to "therefore"? In any case we can certainly add the Puritan failure to the tragic list of disastrous efforts to make virtue attractive by making vice supremely perilous.

My one object in digging up these obscene old chronicles is to furnish ammunition against the ever resurgent spirit of Puritanism which sanctifies brutality and justifies it by suppressing or distorting the truth.